1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka*, the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark: this gave a good appearance and made it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makandre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

type of spear, called *tavaiongea* (cut on Ongea) was made on Ongea of *mbau* barbed with points of greenheart. The following description of a *tavaiongea* spear, formerly belonging to the chief of Fulanga, was obtained from an informant in Muanaithake.

> The shaft of the spear, of greenheart or *mbau* wood, was about 4 meters long. It had two very fine, strong points each about 15 cm. long, made of the tail of the *vai* fish. They were fitted to the wooden point of the spear shaft and tied securely with very fine black sennit (*mangimangi matai lalai ai lava ni moto*), which was wrapped around the spear from the pointed end to the middle of the shaft. Above the points, secured to the shaft in the sennit, were six sharp barbs made of the same wood as the spear.

Ongea men say, however, that the *tavaiongea* did not have a point of bone.

None of the old men questioned had seen a bow and arrow, but they had heard that the bow was formerly made of mangrove, *moli* (trees of the *Citrus* group of Rutaceae), or *mbau* and tied with sennit. The arrow was made of a single piece of *mbau* or greenheart.

Exact information regarding the sling could not be obtained. Slingstones were unworked. No slingstones of baked clay were found.

Baskets

Baskets (*kato*) are made of plaited coconut leaflets. The most common type is the *kato mbolambola* made and used mainly by men for carrying raw and cooked food. The type is common in western Polynesia. It is called *'ato fili tasi* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, pp. 189-194, figs. 97-99, pls. 12, *B* and 13, *A-D*). Other coconut-leaf baskets made by men are the *kato musu* and the *kato vuni* used as food containers.

WOMEN'S CRAFTS

Barkcloth

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CRAFT

The distribution of tapa making in Lau depends on the quality of the local paper mulberry and on the presence of tapa making specialists, women who belong to certain clans and hand down their art and tools to their daughters. Paper mulberry is found on every island, but the best quality for making tapa is grown only on Namuka and Mothe, the tapa making centers of southern Lau. However, of the six islands studied, tapa is made also on the island of Kambara.

Southern Lau and Lakemba are known for the type of tapa made into long sheets, called *ngatu*. This is an acceptable gift in any presentation ceremony and especially in demand as tribute to the high chief at Lakemba. It is highly prized throughout Fiji. Barkcloth in Lau is made into sheets according to two methods which have been called in this study the Fijian and

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Gaming Grounds

A long shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*), called Wainikeli, which the natives say was formerly used for the dart game (*tchingga*), was examined in east central Wangava. The site has been described on pages 78-79. 172

Canoe Builders' Pit

On the beach at Naimarai, reputed to be the site of a village located on the northeast coast of Kambara and formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders, is a pit which informants say was used in building double canoes. The rough hull was drawn across the mouth of the pit so that the canoe builders could stand conveniently in the pit while building up and finishing the hull. This was probably used especially for the *tambetembete* type of Tongan double canoe with keel. 172 396

Fishponds

On Mothe fishponds bordered by walls of basaltic stones were seen. These have been described on pages 135-136. 172

Cannibal Earth Oven

The site of an earth oven which informants said was formerly used for steaming human bodies (*lovo ni mbakola*), was seen near Undu village. It consisted of a somewhat circular pit in the ground, larger than the usual pit used to steam food for a feast. [354] [266]

Shell Mounds

An extensive, low shell mound, formed of the shells of edible mollusks, was seen on the shore at Yawalevu, Fulanga. The edge of the mound was used for a sweet potato garden. By pushing aside the shells which covered the surface of the ground and scraping the earth below into a mound, a small circular clearing had been made for each sweet potato plant.

Potters' Clay Site

The natives of Kambara say that potters' clay was formerly obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi. It was made into pots by the women of Levuka, Lakemba, when they visited the island on regular trading expeditions. The women of southern Lau were not potters but obtained their pots from the Levuka women, from Matuku, Kandavu, and Tailevu (24, pp. 111-112). [323] [438]

Stone Quarries

It is probable that sites of quarries, which formerly supplied basalt for the manufacture of stone implements used in southern Lau, occur on the volcanic islands but none was located. [324] [316]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

stones. It is covered with green leaves and earth and steamed for an hour or more. With the "true food" is served a dish consisting of fish, if possible, and edible green leaves boiled in coconut cream. The ingredients for the boiled dish are gathered and prepared in large imported iron pots by the women. Formerly earthenware pots made in Lau were used, but pots are no longer made.[2] Without fish the meal is considered very poor indeed.

Most families have sufficient initiative to cope with the food problem in years of normal rainfall, so that the islands are practically self-sufficient. But when a violent hurricane sweeps over the islands, destroying harvests and habitations—or a long, searing drought withers the crops—even the coarsest edible jungle roots will not cover the needs of the famine island inhabitants, who would starve without the rice and flour which are rushed to their aid by the colonial government in Suva. Such a hurricane occurred in 1936.

Fortunately catastrophes of this kind do not occur often, but drought is a constant menace. Rain is quickly absorbed through the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and only a very few water holes, which are usually brackish. Practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be collected in tanks and wooden bowls from roofs of imported sheet iron or of thatch. The natives, however, require amazingly little fresh water. They drink the sweet milk of the young coconut, steam their food in the earth oven or boil it in coconut cream, and bathe in the sea. Only since they have donned *lavalavas* of cloth have they needed fresh water for laundering. The government has aided the natives in building small cement reservoirs roofed with sheet iron for each village, but the natives are so little concerned with the lack of fresh water that they do not repair the reservoirs, and few of them are in use.

[2] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938.

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

THE POTTERY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.

By Laura Thompson, Ph.D.,
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This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

The description is based on a study of 467 potsherds from Kambara, Wangava, Fulanga, and Mothe, and one pot from Levuka, Lakemba, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Type

No earthenware pots are made in the Lau islands to-day, and only a few pots are seen, but potsherds are found in large numbers in old hamlet—*(tokatoka)*, and fortified village—*(koro)* sites.

The pottery of Lau is a relatively rough type with little or no ornamentation. It is reddish ware of coarse texture, tempered with sand, and often incompletely fired. The sherds show that the walls of the pots varied in thickness from .3 centimetres (sherds from Nakorombalavu, fortified cave on Wangava) to 1.7 centimetres (sherds from Ndelaimakotu hill fort on Mothe). A few sherds show incised designs on the outer surface of the wall. The designs consist of roughly-executed, incised cross-hatched lines, zigzag lines, dotted lines, and faintly incised parallel grooves (Pl. A, fig. 1). Some of the sherds show impressions of mats with check-weave like those in use to-day. The rims of the sherds are upstanding or slightly bent, either inward or outward. Fragments of necks with slightly outward-bent edge are common. As a rule, the edges of the rims are decorated with incised straight, zigzag, or hatched lines, dotted lines, or raised dots. (Pl. A, fig. 2.) Some of the sherds are perforated, but none show spouts or lugs. No traces of varnish could be detected on the surface of the sherds, although informants in Levuka, Lakemba (where pots were formerly made) say that a varnish was used on certain types of pots.

[pp 1-105 not processed]

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Levuka

POTMAKING CENTRES

323 463 Levuka village, Lakemba, was formerly the centre of the potmaking industry in Lau. The following account of the history of the Levuka people was obtained on Lakemba.

173 323 463 The Levuka people were originally two fisher-groups, called Ngone Ndau, who lived at Mbau. One group was called Kai Mbutoni (people of the flat) and the other was called Kai Ndelanikoro (people of the hill-village). The women of the Ngone Ndau were potters. The two groups were expelled from Mbau and the Kai Mbutoni went to Namathu on the east coast of Koro island in the Lomai Viti group, while the Kai Ndelanikoro went to Lakemba and settled on the beach at Tumbou. This group was called Kai Wai and from them the Levuka people of Lakemba have descended. Later the group moved to Kendekende, the old village site on the hill above Tumbou. At Kendekende were living the sibs of Thekena, Narewandamu, and Targalevu. The Thekena sib, consisting of Thekena, Nandomole, and Katumbalevu, claimed descent from the war hero, Ndaunisai, and ruled the island. They gave the chieftainship to Levuka because, according to the tale, the Levuka people had protected the son of a Thekena chief who went to Mbau. Later the chieftainship reverted to Thekena, and Levuka, with the help of Mbau and Nakorotumboura, the Ngone Sau people of the Ra coast (Viti Levu), attacked and defeated Thekena at Kendekende. For this reason the Levuka people are permitted to wear the turban in Mbau. After Levuka the present rulers, Katumbalevu, became chiefs and the groups moved to their present village-sites of Tumbou and Levuka.

The Levuka women continued to make pots, and the art was handed down from mother to daughter. Since the group was endogamous the art was endemic, and Levuka became the centre of pottery-making in Lau.

323 463 317 Since no Levuka potmakers are now living, the method of fabrication was obtained at Levuka from Fane Loata, an old woman whose parents were Levukans, and who had witnessed the process many times. Potter's clay was obtained from Sosoilonggi, near Levuka village. The

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Levuka

women dug it at a depth of about thirty centimetres from the surface of the ground. It was carried in baskets *(kato mbolambola)* by young women to the village. Black sand, used for tempering, was obtained from Vatulingilingi, Waitambu. Each potter made pots in her own home. To make a pot *(tulituli)*, clay, sand, and water were mixed thoroughly on an old mat. Then a large lump of the clay, sufficient to make the entire pot, was rolled into a ball, flattened out and the edges built up into the walls of the pot. The clay was not rolled into coils. During the process of construction the pot rested on a ring of barkcloth, called *tonggi*. The outer surface of the pot was beaten with a wooden paddle, called *kau ni tulituli*, against a stone, called *vatu ni tulituli*, held inside the pot. Paddles and stones were of various sizes. Designs were incised on the rim or the wall-surface with *sasa* (midrib of coconut-leaflet). The pots were dried in the sun for a day or two and then fired. For firing, coconut-spathes were piled up and the pots were laid on their sides on the pile and covered with more coconut-spathes. The pile was lighted and if the fire was hot, the pots became red. They were fired for about two hours and then removed with a stick inserted into the opening. While the pots were still hot, a varnish made of *makandre*-gum was rubbed on the outside surface of the *vuluvulu* (basin)-type and *ndonggo* (mangrove) was rubbed on the outside surface of the *kuro* (cooking pot)-type. The following types of earthenware vessels were made in Levuka: *kuro*, a pot used for cooking, *vuluvulu*, a basin used for hand washing and *sangga*, a jar used for drinking water (Pl. A, fig. 3).

The Levuka women manufactured pots in Levuka for trade in the southern islands. They also accompanied their men, who were professional sailors and traders, to such islands as Kambara and Oneate, where suitable clay was to be found, and made pots on the islands to supply the local demand.

On Kambara, according to old informants, they lived in the village for which they were making pots. The clay was obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi village. The men dug the clay and carried it in baskets to the village where the women were working.

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323 463 438 The pots were made in a shed, according to the built-up, lump-technique of the Levukans. Two main types of pots were made: *ndolokoto* and *ndari*. The *ndolokoto* was a large cooking-pot, one to two metres high, and up to one and a half metres in diameter. The pot was rounded, so that it could not stand upright. It was laid on its side on two stones over the fire. The pot had two narrow mouths, one at each end. The *ndari* was a basin or bowl made in various [531] sizes and used for kava or for pudding. It was decorated with incised geometric designs around the rim. The Kambara women traded mats for Levuka pots. Occasionally the Kambara men obtained pots in Levuka.

The Kambara women were not pot-makers, but informants remember that one woman who made pots lived in Tokalau for many years. Her name was Tara Nevini from Nandurumbua sib, Nggalikarua village, Matuku. She left Kambara just before the measles epidemic in 1875.

[317] On Oneate the Levuka women made pots of red clay *(nggele ndamu)* found on the hills, mixed with black sand *(nuku loaloa)* from Sovilolo, a beach on the island. According to Tui Oneate (chief of Oneate), when the Levuka people were succeeded by Katumbalevu, they moved to Oneate, where they lived until they were recalled to Lakemba.*

Pots were imported into southern Lau from the island of Matuku. They were made in the village of Nggalikarua.

Pots from Kandavu were also traded in southern Lau. On Kambara they were exchanged for barkcloth *(ngatu)*, wooden kava-bowls *(kumete ni yanggona)*, food-bowls *(kumete ni kana manioke)*, perfumed oil *(waliwali)*, and [435] digging-sticks *(saupa)*. There was no standard of value, but the women say one large Kandavu pot was equivalent to about one wooden kava-bowl or to one sheet of barkcloth *(ngatu)* (about three by three metres) and one container *(fango)* of coconut-oil.

[439] Pots from fabrication centres in Tailevu on Viti Levu also found their way to Lau.

* For further information concerning the Levuka potters see Hocart, A.M., The Lau islands, Fiji, *Bishop Museum Bul.* 62, 1929, pp. 18-19.

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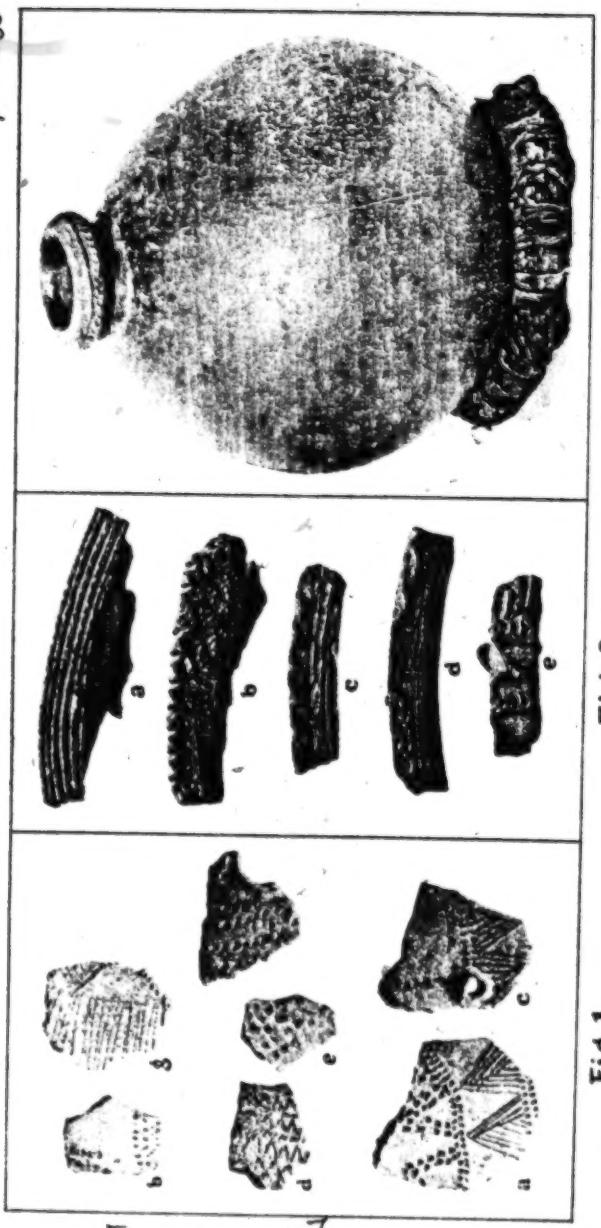

Fig. 3.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 1.

Plate A.

[facing p. 113]

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OQ6 Lau OQ6

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FIGURES.
(Courtesy of the Bishop Museum)

PLATE A.

Fig. 1. Potsherds with wall-surface decoration: a, b, c, (C7475) sherds apparently from one pot showing incised geometric designs in lines and dots; perforated wall; thickness .6—1 centimetre; found on the surface, Ndelaimothe fortress-site, Mothe; d, (C7421) sherd with incised dotted lines, thickness .7 centimetre, found on the surface, Nakoro fortress-site, Kambara; e, (C7421) sherd with mat-impressed surface, thickness .7 centimetre, from the same site; f, (C7421) incised sherd with perforation, thickness 1.1 centimetres, from the same site; g, (C7475) sherd with incised cross-hatching, thickness .7 centimetre, from the surface, Ndelaimothe fortress-site, Mothe.

Fig. 2. Potsherds with incised rim-decoration: a, (C7417) thickness at edge 1.2 centimetres, found 1 metre below the surface, Nakorovusa fortress-site, Kambara; b, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.6 centimetres, found on the surface, Nakorovusa fortress-site, Kambara; c, (C7419) thickness at edge 1.5 centimetres, found on the surface at Naisevou fortress-site, Kambara; d, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.7 centimetres, found with b; e, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.5 centimetres, found with b and d.

Fig. 3. Clay water-jar (C1943). This type was formerly made at Levuka, Lakemba, where it is called *sangga*.

[pp 114- end, not processed]